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POLICE INTERVENTION IN WIFE ABUSE

A report based on data
from women resident
in Alberta shelters

Women's Shelter Program
Office for the Prevention
of Family Violence
Alberta Family and Social Services

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NOTE

The data in this report has been derived from the Women's Shelter Information System, an automated database of Alberta Family and Social Services, which collects extensive information, on an ongoing basis, from women resident in Alberta's shelters.

Readers wishing to learn more about this or other reports generated from the Women's Shelter Information System should contact: Jane Ranger, Manager, Wife Abuse Programs, Office for the Prevention of Family Violence, Alberta Family and Social Services, 11th Floor, Seventh Street Plaza, 10030 - 107 Street, Edmonton, Alberta, (403) 422-5916.

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POLICE INTERVENTION IN WIFE ABUSE
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Executive Summary i

Introduction 1

PART I: THE CHANGING ROLE OF POLICE IN WIFE ASSAULT

Historical Overview 2
- Societal attitudes 2
- Mediation 2
- Non-arrest policies 3
- Need for change 3

Legislative Reform and the Development of Mandatory Arrest Policies . 5
- Minneapolis experiment 5
- Canadian experience 7
- London City Police 7
- Other factors to reduce recidivism 10
- Ontario Standing Committee on Social Development 11
- Directives encouraging mandatory arrest 13
- Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering . 13
- Task Force on Victims of Crime 14

Factors Which Influence Police Practice 15
- Systemic and other factors influencing police law enforcement decisions 16
- Factors affecting the decision to arrest 18
- Assessment of lethality 19
- Approach to investigations 20

Recent Initiatives in the Criminal Justice System and Prescriptions for the Future 20
- Women's opinions of changes in the criminal justice system 22
- The need for other options for Women 23

Part II: THE NATURE OF POLICE INTERVENTION FOR WOMEN IN ALBERTA SHELTERS 24

- Methodology 24
- Police contact rates 26
- Type of police intervention 26
  - No response 28
  - Referral 28
  - Assistance to leave 29
  - Mediation only 29
  - Advice to woman not to lay charges 29
  - Advice to lay charges and charges laid by police 29
  - Arrest 30
  - Arrest and other variables 31
- Client satisfaction with police response 35
- Trend data 38

Part III: ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS 39

Bibliography 45

Appendix A 50

POLICE INTERVENTION IN WIFE ABUSE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper examines the nature and scope of police intervention in wife abuse. It tracks the evolving role of police and the criminal justice system in responding to wife assault, examining legislative and policy changes that have occurred in recent years, key research studies which assess the impact of various police intervention strategies on recidivism, and factors which influence police practice. Using data collected from women resident in Alberta's fourteen women's shelters and one second-stage housing program, the paper discusses the type of police intervention experienced by battered women in Alberta and their satisfaction with police response, and offers suggestions for positive change.

The role and response of police in cases of wife assault has long been controversial. The police, as agents responsible for the maintenance of law and order, were initially advised to adopt a policy of mediation and non-arrest in cases of wife assault. This policy was largely based on the belief that wife assault was a matter of private concern. Women's advocates criticized this approach as condoning violence in the home. As a result of pressure from these groups, along with studies which indicated that strategies of charge and arrest in these cases reduced recidivism, major legislative and policy changes in favor of mandatory arrest have been implemented in Canada and the United States. All police forces in Canada have been issued the directive to lay charges in cases of wife assault where reasonable and probable grounds exist to believe an assault has occurred.

While studies have indicated a dramatic improvement in the response of police following the introduction of this policy, a review of Alberta's police response, in the experience of women resident in shelters, is somewhat mixed. Fifty-three percent of the women requested police assistance and in 89.5% of the cases, police did respond. The most common method of intervention was providing referrals and information regarding assistance available to women (42.72 %) as well as assisting women to leave (41.53%). However, each of these actions happened in less than half of the cases. Most

disappointing was the heavy reliance of police on the use of mediation (32.5%) as a way of resolving conflict, despite evidence which indicates mediation is not an effective intervention tool, as well as the expectation of police that women lay their own charges. Police laid charges in 18.91% of the cases, yet encouraged women to lay charges 39.33% of the time. Even when this charge rate is combined with arrest for a total of 44.21%, this is only slightly higher than the degree to which they expected women in crisis to act for themselves. This is of concern given the implementation of the 1983 directive which recognized that women ought not to bear responsibility for charging their abusive partners. Police arrested in only 25.3% of cases, despite evidence which suggests that a marked reduction in recidivism occurs when arrest is used. Over-use of mediation and failure to charge and arrest allows abusers to escape responsibility for their actions.

The paper concludes with a series of recommendations for change. It recognizes that police operate within a societal framework which gives unclear messages about the seriousness of wife assault. It recognizes that police are but one component of the criminal justice system, the component parts of which must act in consort to respond to the problem of wife battering in a rational and integrated way. A number of factors which influence police practice and decisions in favor of arrest are also examined. The importance of a co-ordinated, comprehensive system of delivery of services to battered women, of which the criminal justice system is but a part, is emphasized.

POLICE INTERVENTION IN WIFE ABUSE

Introduction

The role of police and the criminal justice system in wife abuse has long been controversial. Some believe that law enforcement officials, and the state in general, have no place in the private homes and bedrooms of the nation. Others, while recognizing that wife abuse is not acceptable, believe that the courts are an inappropriate means by which to deal with the problem since punishment, incarceration and fines do not "correct" it and, in fact, may cause additional hardship for abused wives. Nor can the criminal justice system ensure safety for women. Still others believe that there is value in using legal means to force abusers, and society, to recognize the seriousness of wife assault, that wife abuse is a crime and that wife abusers must be held accountable for their actions. The criminal justice system and law enforcement authorities do have a role to play in protecting members of society from the violent actions of others. As well, use of the criminal justice system to mandate treatment for abusers holds out the promise of rehabilitation.

The purpose of this report is to examine the nature and scope of police intervention in wife abuse cases in Alberta using data collected from women resident in the fourteen women's shelters and one second stage housing program in the province. In so doing, the paper will chart the evolving role of police and the criminal justice system in responding to wife abuse over the last thirty years.

The paper provides an historical overview of police response to wife assault, examines legislative and policy changes that have occurred in Canada and the United States in recent years (partly as a result of research studies indicating the impact of various intervention strategies on recidivism), considers factors which influence the response of police officers to wife abuse situations, discusses the type of police intervention experienced by women in Alberta shelters and their satisfaction with it, and offers suggestions for positive change.

I. THE CHANGING ROLE OF POLICE IN WIFE ASSAULT

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Initially, police were called upon to respond to domestic violence mainly because, in many areas, they were the only public agency available on a twenty-four hour basis. In addition, they are the primary agency given the mandate to deter violence (by use of force if necessary), keep the peace and maintain order in society. However, societal attitudes regarding the privacy of the home and the notion that family problems should be solved within the family, as well as views about the role of women in society, have mitigated against police intervening in domestic violence cases.

Societal Attitudes

In a paper presented to the American Bar Association in 1975, James Bannon, Commander of the Detroit Police Department, confirmed the pervasive influence these attitudes had on police handling of domestic violence cases:

> It is my view that police, and later prosecutors and courts, contribute to domestic violence by their laissez-faire attitudes toward what they view as essentially a "personal problem." This is made even more problematic because police are socialized to regard females in general as subordinate (p. 158).

This view that women were subordinate to men also contributed to wife abuse not being taken seriously by law enforcement officials or by society in general.

Mediation

In the early 1960's, some researchers encouraged police to use new "crisis intervention" techniques of advising and mediating to help "defuse" domestic violence situations. This approach was intended to improve the police officer's decision-making and communication skills in family conflicts and to reduce violence that might inadvertently be caused by police handling of the

conflict. One such study undertaken by Bard in a New York precinct in 1967 claimed that this approach resulted in less danger to officers and fewer repeat calls. However, the study's results are still seen as controversial (Dutton 1988), and subsequent research has not supported the use of mediation only as an effective mode of police intervention.

Women's advocates criticized the mediation approach from several perspectives. They maintained that the use of mediation alone tells women that society condones wife abuse, that assault inside the home is not as serious as assault outside the home and that even if women do call the police, no help will be given (Walker, 1984; Martin, 1976, 1981; Lerman, 1984).

Non-Arrest Policies

Indeed, many police forces in the United States and Canada had policies of non-arrest in domestic violence situations before the 1970's. For example, Susan Schecter (1982) found that the Michigan Police Training Academy procedure manual specified that police should avoid arrest in cases of wife assault if possible and should discourage women from obtaining a warrant or pursuing a complaint (p. 157). Del Martin (1981) discovered similar non-arrest policies in other police departments in the 1970s, which were based on the assumption that it was inappropriate for the state and law enforcement authorities to intervene in the family (p. 93-96). Also, as Parnas (1967) pointed out, police officers themselves were frustrated by these "nuisance calls" because they often had to go to the same house repeatedly on instruction to "cool down" "lover's quarrels" by adjustment without arrest. In a more recent article, Mickish (1987) described police "frustration and anger" over unwritten policy discouraging arrest unless severe injuries had been sustained. Even when they did arrest, officers felt angry that the assailant was often back at home harassing the victim before they had finished their paperwork at the police station (p. 6).

Need for Change

As Caringella-MacDonald (1988) outlined in an article on legal reform, awareness of the need for change in police policies started to grow as early

as the 1960s and 1970s when feminists and victim advocates began to identify the wide range of problems faced by women who were victimized by male violence. In addition to the abuse itself, a battered woman faced double victimization by society, the law and law enforcement systems; and the "problematics of recourse" and "rhetoric of protection" (Holstrom and Burgess, 1978; Stanko, 1985a, p. 86, cited in Caringella-MacDonald, 1988). Alarming estimates of the incidence of male to female violence also aroused social concern. Another signal of the need for change was denial of access to legal intervention for battered women through a number of obstacles. These included reluctance on the part of criminal justice officials to take action because of the view that spouse abuse was a private matter. Another obstacle was the practice of treating domestic violence as assault and battery which was a misdemeanor that police must witness in order to charge and arrest. Other factors which precluded assistance included denial of injunctive relief (for example, court orders) in cases in which divorce was not pending, and women's ineligibility to sue for physical or psychological damages because of the "unity doctrine" (the practice of treating two people as one in marriage) (Taub, 1983; Martin, 1981; and Walker, 1984a, cited in Cabbgekka-MacDonald, 1988).

As the women's movement gained momentum, women organized to provide shelters and services for battered women. Women's advocates pointed out the historic basis for lack of police intervention in such past laws as "the rule of thumb" which regulated the thickness of the stick husbands used to beat their wives (Walker, 1984). Women's groups began to pressure for the right to be protected from assault by preparing class action suits against several major police departments. For example, the class action suit filed against New York Police Department officers for failing to give protection to battered women was a major cause for change in police treatment of wife abuse as a crime, rather than a private matter (Bangham, 1986, p. 52). As other action suits were filed, and justice system surveys and research urged reform, many police departments responded by changing their policies and procedures related to family violence.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANDATORY ARREST POLICIES

These changes were accompanied by support for mandatory charge and arrest policies, which grew partly in response to several key research studies carried out in the United States and Ontario.

Minneapolis Experiment

One of these studies was the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment (Sherman and Berk, 1984), a scientifically controlled comparison of different methods of decreasing domestic violence. Conducted by the Minneapolis Police Department and the Police Foundation, the study used a lottery selection to determine which of three actions police officers would take in response to domestic assault cases. A suspect could be arrested, sent away from the scene of assault for eight hours, or given some type of advice, including mediation. All cases involving police intervention were followed for six months. Cases of life threatening or severe injury were not included in the study. Victims were contacted by female research staff for in-person interviews after the police action and followed by telephone interviews bi-weekly for 24 weeks in order to measure the frequency and seriousness of any further assaults by the suspect. Criminal justice reports which included the names of suspects were also collected during the six-month follow-up period.

The experimenters measured repeat violence in two ways - through police records of offenders' activity during the six-month follow-up and through interviews with victims about subsequent incidents of violence. Police records showed that arrest was clearly an improvement over sending the suspect away which produced two and a half times as many repeat incidents as arrest. The repeat violence of suspects who received advice was not statistically distinguishable from that of the other two categories.

Victim interviews also indicated that fewer repeat incidents occurred after arrest than the other police interventions. However, medication or advice produced almost twice as much violence as arrest. According to victims, 19%

of their spouses who had been arrested battered them again, while 37% of those given advice repeated their violence, and 33% of those who were sent away abused their wives again. **By either measure - police records or victim interviews - arrest was clearly the preferred strategy.** These findings held true across differences in race, employment status, education level, criminal history, or length of time in jail if arrested.

One factor that influenced the effectiveness of arrest on incidents of repeat violence was whether the police took time to listen to the victim. **The occurrence of repeat violence was reduced further when victims perceived that police listened to their story.** The experimenters suggest that the effect of police listening to the victim was to "empower her with their strength" which signalled to the suspect that she could influence their behavior. Ignoring the victim may have encouraged the suspect to think he was arrested for reasons other than assaulting the victim and, consequently, he may not have been deterred from battering again.

The authors caution that because Minneapolis police kept most suspects arrested in jail overnight, the deterrent effects of arrest may have been stronger than if the suspects had been allowed to return home within a few hours of arrest.

Noteworthy too was the fact that, of the 136 suspects arrested, only 3 ever received a formal sanction from a judge. This indicates a reduction in recidivism was brought about regardless of the outcome of the case in court.

This study helped to change police behavior in Minneapolis and supported the need for legislature to empower police to make probable cause arrests in cases of domestic assault without the signed complaint of a victim.

Despite the results of this landmark study, and the recommendation of the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence (1984) which recommended arrest as the "preferred policy" in family violence cases, the use of arrest is still limited. In a review of the domestic violence policies of urban police departments, Cohn (1987) stated that,

> For those who favor the arrest of perpetrators for domestic assault, the good news is that more police departments are encouraging the use of arrest, and more arrests are being made. The bad news is that, in 1986, over half of all urban departments still failed to encourage arrests (p. 24).

Canadian Experience

Mandatory arrest policies were developed in Canada partly in response to studies which illustrated the effectiveness of arrest in reducing repeat violence, as well as the work of a series of special committees established to address issues of wife battering.

London City Police

Burris and Jaffe (1983) researched the effects of police laying charges against perpetrators of wife abuse following the issue of a policy by the London City Police Force in May 1981. The policy was instituted in response to research which showed that victims wanted police to lay charges and that the grounds for doing so were often present. It encouraged officers to lay assault charges in all cases in which there were "reasonable and probable grounds" to believe an assault had taken place. This meant that they did not have to witness the assault to lay a charge. The directive also stipulated that cases in which a couple was not living together were to proceed to Criminal Court rather than Family Court.

The researchers recorded the number of charges police laid in family violence calls within a four-month period following the change in policy (May 20, 1981 to September 20, 1981), as well as charges laid by the victims themselves. All of the cases were followed through the court system.

The number of charges laid within four months after the policy change was compared with a six-month period in 1979. The results showed that police-laid charges increased from six in the first part of 1979 to 68 during the study period. Victim-laid charges, on the other hand, decreased after the policy change; there were 13 in the 1981 period compared to 46 in the 1979 period. Further, after arrest had taken place, 59% of the victim-laid

charges of common assault were dismissed or withdrawn from the courts, while only 28% of police-laid charges of this type received similar treatment. Almost none of the victim-laid charges resulted in a fine or jail sentence, but 26% of the police-laid common assaults and 45% of the assault causing bodily harm charges did. The majority of imposed fines were less than $500 and most of the jail sentences lasted from 21 to 30 days.

The researchers concluded that the London police officers were willing to lay assault charges in wife abuse cases once a clear policy had been established which encouraged "decisive action." The policy change also brought about changes in police attitudes. Since the officers had always been able to lay charges of assault causing bodily harm when serious injury was apparent (whether they witnessed the assault or not), the sharp increase in the number of charges indicates that they had become more aware of the seriousness of wife battering. Burris and Jaffe also concluded that Criminal Court was more effective in dealing with wife assault cases than Family Court because of shorter delays in appearance and disposition in the criminal system and the greater likelihood of getting a conviction. In spite of stipulations in the new police policy, most of the police-laid charges followed in the study went to Criminal Court while victim-laid charges proceeded to Family Court. This trend, the researchers suggest, may have been influenced by the possibility that courts view assault cases as criminal when a police officer has laid charges while other factors, such as effects on the family, may carry more weight when a victim has brought forward a charge.

This study demonstrated that, with the introduction of a clear policy encouraging police to lay charges, the number of charges increased and the treatment of cases in court improved.

Among the concerns raised by this new approach were the following:

1) concerns that fewer women would call police to report abuse because of the threat of jail sentences for their partners and the resultant economic and family hardships;

2) fears that women might experience increased violence from their abusive partners; and

3) concerns that more women would ask to have charges laid by police dropped.

In a follow-up study to their 1983 research, Jaffe and others (1986) interviewed battered women and police officers to determine the impact of the new London City Police Force policy. They found that the number of police-laid charges increased by 2500% from the pre-policy period in 1979 to the post-policy period in 1983 (from 12 to 298) while the number of victim-laid charges dramatically decreased (from 92 to 22). Victims in the post-policy sample reported experiencing less violence after a charge was laid against their partners than women in the 1979 sample. In fact, although some women feared increased violence as a result of charges being laid by police, they experienced more threats and/or assaults when no charges were laid. Furthermore, victims did not reduce the number of calls they made for police assistance after the policy was in place as the researchers anticipated, and fewer women asked to have charges against their partners dropped when laid by police than by themselves.

The women's perceptions of police response to their needs also changed after the implementation of the policy. When compared with pre-policy victims, the women interviewed in 1983 reported sensing greater support from police officers and being made to feel less to blame for the violence they experienced. The great majority of women reported that the police and court process played a significant role in decreasing or ending abuse, regardless of the outcome of their partner's arrest. Post-policy victims also expressed a need for more support and legal advocacy when entering the court system.

On the other hand, the officers' attitudes about the new policy were more negative than the positive results their actions helped produce. Many were undecided about its effectiveness in reducing wife battering or believed it was not helpful at all. This finding underlines the importance of increased knowledge and training for police officers in the area of domestic violence, as

well as the need for the various components of the criminal justice system to work in concert, consistent with the pro-arrest policy.

The authors cautioned that the positive results they found in London may not necessarily be generalized to communities which provide fewer integrated support services in the field of family violence. Also, the effectiveness of a police policy in reducing further wife assault may not be so evident in individual situations. Factors such as the nature of the victim and offender and of the community support services available, may influence the outcome of such a policy, producing exceptions to the general findings of the London study.

However, keeping these cautions in mind, it may be concluded from this study that pro-arrest police policies are most effective when carried out within the context of a comprehensive array of services for victims and networking among professionals. This environment would include services such as battered women's shelters, counselling and anger management programs for abusers, victim advocacy during the legal process, responsive social service networks, and prosecutors and judges who are aware of the dynamics of family violence.

Other Factors to Reduce Recidivism

Dutton, in his review of the criminal justice response to wife assault (1988), has suggested that, along with charge and arrest policies, other means of reducing recidivism show some effectiveness, such as treatment groups for abusers as well as "extra legal" or "psychosocial" factors like feelings of guilt or remorse or the wife's reaction to the assault (threatening to leave, etc.)(Dutton, 1986b; Dutton, 1986a, cited in Dutton, 1988). Dutton concludes from his review that "some qualified support exists for deterrence of future assault through the police use of arrest and .... coupling arrest with mandatory treatment is a promising policy strategy for greater recidivism."

Fagan (1987) also argues that equalization of power in the male/female relationship is the primary means of reducing recidivism. Assaultive behavior

stops when legal or extra-legal factors diminish power imbalances in the family and raise the cost of repeat assault for the husband. Through charge, arrest and court-mandated treatment, wife assaulters are challenged in their belief that their behavior is acceptable.

Sheehy (1987) contends that changes in police policy are not sufficient to ensure adequate treatment of wife assault cases in the criminal justice system. While recognizing that "several of the provincial Attorneys General and the federal Solicitor General have issued guidelines requiring the R.C.M.P., police and crown attorneys to lay and pursue criminal charges against assaultive partners as a matter of routine rather than as exceptional procedures" (p. 9), Sheehy points out that no legislative changes on the problem of assault against female partners have been pursued in Canada, unlike the United States where 48 of the 50 states have instituted legislative changes. These changes have placed wife assault in the criminal arena. In Sheehy's views, "neutrally worded" arrest and assault policies are not enough to ensure adequate treatment of these cases by police, crown attorneys, court officials and judges.

Ontario Standing Committee on Social Development

The role of police in addressing the problem of domestic violence was explored by the Ontario Standing Committee on Social Development in 1982 as well. The committee held public hearings on wife battering in Toronto, interviewed the London Chief of Police and members of the London Coordinating Committee on Family Violence, and visited transition houses. The investigation was motivated by the recognition, on reviewing the 1980 Annual Report of the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, that battered women in Ontario needed various forms of assistance.

From its findings, the Standing Committee recommended that all municipal and provincial police forces in Ontario be instructed to lay charges in cases of wife battering on the basis of reasonable and probable evidence that an assault had occurred. As in London, witnessing the battering was not a necessary prerequisite for officers to take this action.

The Committee argued that the act of police laying charges in these cases, rather than the battered woman herself, is significant because of the message it gives to abusers about their behavior.

> When police officers, as representatives of society, lay charges, they are affirming to the batterer that society does not condone violence against women. That message is not conveyed when the victim must institute proceedings. (p. 11)

Another important advantage of police-laid charges, the Committee noted, is that women are likely to face less harassment from their partners to drop legal proceedings when they have not laid assault charges themselves. Also, women are not obliged to "figure out the criminal justice system" when police charge the batterer with assault.

In regard to the role of the criminal justice system in dealing with wife assault, the Standing Committee recommended that Provincial Court procedures be studied to determine if domestic assault charges are more appropriately prosecuted in Criminal Court rather than Family Court. While recognizing that there are some advantages to prosecution through Family Court, such as the availability of support services, the committee noted that the routing of these cases to a non-criminal court implies that wife assault is not a criminal offense. It concluded that the criminality of domestic assault "must be emphasized", no matter which court prosecutes the charges.

The Standing Committee also addressed the issue of sentencing. It recommended that, in some cases of wife assault, probation orders be given which specify conditions for protecting the victim and require that the batterer receive treatment. This conclusion was based on the belief that a woman's safety should be the first priority in sentencing practices and that the conditional discharges frequently granted in cases of wife assault do not provide enough protection. In terms of treatment for batterers, the committee supported group therapy over family or individual counselling because of the support system offered through groups of men who share the same problem. The committee argued that imposing a fine in cases of battering is equivalent to collecting "a licence fee to continue the battering." It also suggested that intermittent sentences served at night or on weekends

should be an option in cases in which imprisonment is appropriate so that financial support of the family is not lost.

Directives Encouraging Mandatory Arrest

On July 15, 1982, soon after the conclusion of the Standing Committee on Social Development hearings in Ontario, the federal Ministry of the Solicitor General sent a letter to the Executive of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police which encouraged all police forces across Canada to lay charges in cases of wife battering (MacLeod, 1987). In consultation with the provincial Attorneys General, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) developed a national charge and arrest policy in February of 1983. By December, the Solicitor General had issued guidelines for law enforcement and criminal justice officers in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon (MacLeod, 1987).

Since 1982, all of the provincial and territorial governments have directed the police, and in most cases the crown attorneys, in their jurisdictions to "vigorously" investigate and prosecute cases of wife abuse. Most of the directives have stipulated that officers need only have "reasonable and probable grounds" to believe that an assault has occurred in order to lay charges; they do not have to witness the battering (MacLeod, 1987).

Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Wife Battering

In 1983, the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women set about a process of providing "an integrated program of response to the problem of wife battering" (1986). The working group established for the undertaking examined existing programs, policies and legislation, identified gaps in services and problem areas, and presented a set of recommendations to the Ministers in 1984. A report on the implementation of these initiatives followed in 1986.

The recommendations raised issues relating to police policies and the effectiveness of laying charges in cases of wife assault. The working group recognized that what occurs after charges are laid influences their effectiveness and consequently suggested that charges should serve two

purposes. One is to communicate to abusive men that assaulting their wives is as unacceptable as assaulting anyone else. Secondly, charges should let battered women know that they can get help through the legal system. The working group reported that, because these goals involve other components of the legal system, initiatives concerning this issue should focus on integrated approaches which interrelate charging policies to the reporting of incidents, witness collaboration, prosecution, court policies and support services for battered women. Between 1984 and 1986, the Department of the Solicitor General Canada supported several projects designed to improve the legal response to wife assault on the part of the provinces and criminal justice officials. Many of the projects focused on developing effective police policies that are integrated with protocols of other parts of the legal system.

Another issue raised by the working group in 1984 concerned the RCMP's development of statistical reporting systems for wife assault cases as well as training programs and materials. In 1986, the group reported that the RCMP had set up a separate analysis system for wife assault cases and updated its training programs to incorporate changes in information and policy related to battering.

Task Force on Victims of Crime

In 1981, the Federal/Provincial Ministers responsible for Criminal Justice created a Task Force to examine the needs of victims of crime and their experiences with the criminal justice system. The committee also explored a number of issues related to the development of effective services for victims, such as funding and community involvement, and ways of communicating with public and criminal justice agencies and sharing information between levels of government about victims' needs and concerns. The Task Force was made up of officials of federal and provincial ministries and departments of the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Justice, Community and Social Services, and correctional services; the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics; the Ontario Police Commission; and the University of Toronto.

In its report, issued in 1983, the Task Force outlined the social, economic, legal and constitutional aspects of the victim's situation. It made 16

recommendations for improving the situation of victims of wife assault. The committee advised that written guidelines be developed emphasizing that wife assault is a criminal offense and stating the criteria to be considered by police and prosecutors when deciding to lay charges. Changes in police protocol and training were the focus of several recommendations. These included producing a comprehensive police training manual; requiring that officers attend the scene of all wife assault calls and record all complaints (regardless of whether they made a charge or arrest); providing officers with information about any previous history of assault when responding to a domestic violence call; offering a course on family violence at all police education and training centres; enforcing all court orders to prevent an assailant from seeing or harassing his spouse; instituting domestic crisis intervention teams in collaboration with social and mental health services; arranging transportation for battered women and their children who seek shelter outside the home; and providing information to the public about wife assault and legal and social services options for victims.

The Task Force also recommended that research be conducted on the decision-making process carried out by the criminal justice system in relation to wife assault and on the effectiveness of court dispositions in preventing further violence.

Other recommendations dealt with the provision of social services and housing for battered women and their children; the development of counselling services for abusers both as sentencing options and for court referrals; and the provision of education and information about wife abuse.

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE POLICE PRACTICE

Despite changes in legislation and policy, police officer attitudes about family violence and the environment in which they work, may influence actual police practice. Given that officers in Canada still retain some measure of discretion in the application of charge and arrest policies, an examination of these attitudes and environmental factors is important in assessing the value and impact of such policies.

Systemic and Other Factors Influencing Police Law Enforcement Decisions

Loving summarized police response to cases of spouse abuse in a 1979 review of police practice in the United States. On the basis of interviews with police, she reported that officers were more likely to make a felony* arrest if the victim suffered serious injury or if a weapon was used. The officers encountered misdemeanor** assaults in the majority of cases but did not lay charges because of statutory requirements which stipulated that they must witness the battering in order to make an arrest. Also, because officers felt that victims might drop charges if filed and return to the abuser, they did not press charges or encourage women to do so. Loving identified a number of other factors which influenced police officers' law enforcement decisions as follows:

- statutory provisions which assign 'family offenses' to family or domestic relations courts where they receive cursory treatment and become entangled in a bureaucratic maze;
- the unwillingness of the criminal justice system to handle domestic violence cases properly. This includes a magistrate's failure to arraign the assailant, a prosecutor's refusal to accept the case, and a judge's refusal to hear the case;
- an overburdening of the criminal justice system, which receives many times the number of cases it can process;
- the police profession's preoccupation with its crime control mission which has resulted in disdain for other activities as not 'real' police work;
- the lack of professional incentives or organizational rewards within police agencies for officers to perform well in spousal violence cases;
- the danger spousal violence calls pose to police officers' physical safety;
- the attitudes of police officers and the male bias of the criminal justice system, which may compromise the female victim's rights to police protection and due process;

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* A felony is a serious offense that results in a longer imprisonment sentence.

** A misdemeanor is a less serious offense than a felony, with less injury to the victim, and a lighter sentence.

- the lack of police training to handle such calls effectively, which leaves officers frustrated, vulnerable and resentful;

- the indifference of police officers resulting from failure to understand the problems and an overexposure to interpersonal conflict and violence; and

- community acceptance of the status quo in relation to family violence problems (p. 47).

Loving's assessment illustrates the complexity of factors which influence police response and suggests the need for reform, not only in police policy and practice, but in the criminal justice system as a whole. These points also reinforce the need for change in societal attitudes which, overtly or covertly, support or contribute to family violence.

In a recent Quebec study, Lavoie, Jacob, Hardy and Martin (1989) examined police attitudes in assigning responsibility for wife abuse. Officers were asked to repond to written case vignettes which illustrated eight factors that were likely to influence their attitudes. These factors included couple's socio-economic status, type of household, husband's drinking habits, alleged verbal antagonism by the wife, wife's ambivalance to make a complaint, type of abuse, history of assault and violence toward children. The researchers found that, on the whole, officers held the husband more responsible for the violence than the wife, particularly when it was physical and frequent. However, the officers always assigned some measure of responsibility to the wife, especially when the husband accused her of provoking the incident through verbal antagonism and when threats were made. The officers' tendencies to blame the wife and to adopt a neutral position toward her in situations involving threats raises concerns about the kind of help she is likely to receive. These results show a lack of awareness of the impact of verbal and psychological abuse on the victim and illustrate the deeply-held attitude that people ask for the violence they experience. The authors suggested that officers "be encouraged to change their attitude regarding violence in the form of threats, since living in terror is no more justified than being slapped in the face or kicked, and the wife's responsibility must not automatically be greater in the former case."

Factors Affecting the Decision to Arrest

Other studies have examined factors which are important in influencing police officers to make a decision to arrest. Breci and Simons (1987) interviewed officers in four law enforcement agencies in the United States and found evidence that they would make more arrests if department guidelines and training were changed to support arrest when violence occurs. The researchers observed, however, that changes in law or police department policy do not guarantee changes in officer response regarding the use of arrest (p. 103).

Similarly, Dolon, Hendricks and Meagher (1986) surveyed police practices and attitudes towards domestic violence in three municipal police agencies in a midwestern state. Officers ranked, in order of importance, the following 11 factors in the decision to make an arrest:

1. Use of violence against police officers
2. Commission of a felony
3. Use of a weapon
4. Serious injury to the victim
5. Likelihood of future violence
6. Frequent calls for police assistance from household
7. Alcohol/drug intoxicated assailant
8. Disrespect for police officers
9. Previous injury to victim or damage to property
10. Previous legal action (restraining order)
11. Victim insists on arrest (p. 189).

These factors can be grouped according to several different themes: threats to officer safety; perceived seriousness of the injury to the victim; the presence of a weapon; and the perceived chance of future violence.

Officers also ranked those factors, in order of importance, which influenced their decision to not arrest in domestic violence cases as follows:

1. Refusal of the victim to press charges
2. Victim's tendency to drop charges
3. Lack of serious injury
4. Commission of a misdemeanor
5. Jail overcrowding
6. Victim and assailant intoxicated

7. Availability of effective civil alternatives
8. Frequent calls from household for police assistance
9. Availability of effective social service alternatives
10. Participant's first encounter with the police
11. No use of weapon
12. Added paperwork burden (p. 190).

The officers did not arrest if they perceived that victims were reluctant to act as witnesses or if they thought victims did not want to help themselves. Other factors related to their judgement concerning the ability of the criminal justice system to deal with family violence cases. The researchers concluded that, since 62% of the officers felt that their co-workers needed more training in the area of family violence, significant improvements in police training are required.

Assessment of Lethality

The assessment of the relative degree of lethality in domestic assault cases has been offered as another reason why police are reluctant to intervene in such situations. However, some researchers believe that the danger to police in domestic disturbances has been overstated. In the past, conventional wisdom held that domestic disturbances were the most dangerous or lethal type of situation to which police were called. This was based on a review of FBI (United States Federal Bureau of Investigation) data gathered over many years beginning in 1962. However, as Garner and Clemmer (1986) have pointed out, officer homicide data collected on all disturbance calls was interpreted by researchers to be mainly domestic disputes. However, domestic disturbances made up only a small part of the disturbance category, which also included bar fights, gang warfare, general disturbances and incidents in which citizens were in possession of a gun.

When domestic disturbances were separated out from the general disturbance category, the data revealed that fewer deaths were actually associated with these police assignments. While there is risk for officers who respond to family violence calls, other police assignments are much more dangerous. Robbery calls were found to be the most dangerous in terms of officer deaths. Garner and Clemmer concluded that, "Not only are the numbers of domestic disturbance deaths considerably less than previously reported, but

those incidents are proportionally less likely to result in an officer death, given the frequency with which such assignments occur" (p. 5). James K. Stewart, Director of the United States National Institute of Justice, has suggested that this recognition of the more limited danger to police officers in family violence situations may help to free police administration to investigate different ways of meeting the needs of victims of family violence.

Approach to Investigations

In his article "Domestic Violence: Too Late to Mediate", Farmington, Connecticut Police Chief, Leroy Bangham (1986) recommended that police treat domestic violence as any other crime. He made seven suggestions to aid police investigations in these cases, including:

1. Look for signs of probable cause and focus on police investigation;
2. Place emphasis not on mediation but on determining probable cause;
3. Apply established and recognized officer skills when investigating domestic assault;
4. Establish a written arrest policy that mandates arrest when probable cause exists;
5. Recognize that the decision to arrest should not rest with the victim;
6. Remove offender when probable cause is established;
7. Provide support for victim through referrals (p. 51-52).

RECENT INITIATIVES IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AND PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

In her book Battered But Not Beaten, MacLeod (1987) reviews several initiatives that have been taken over the last few years in Canada in the field of police intervention and wife assault. All Canadian police education and training centres now include information on wife assault as part of their courses for police recruits, although in-service training about the subject is still needed for veteran police officers. The number of crisis intervention teams which work with police to respond to wife abuse and other domestic violence cases has also increased since 1980. These teams are generally made up of police officers and social workers (although some use volunteers) who provide support to victims at the scene, make referrals to appropriate services, and provide follow-up services. Some victim services units in police

departments also help battered women with court procedures, case information, court appearance information and referrals to other services (p. 82-83). Finally, data collection by the criminal justice system in Canada has begun to be improved. The RCMP and several provincial, territorial and municipal police departments are collecting statistics specifically on wife assault. With improved information gathering, police and communities will be better able to recognize the seriousness of the problem of wife abuse and provide needed services to victims (p. 83).

The police, of course, are only one aspect of the criminal justice system. Although officers have been encouraged to lay charges in wife abuse cases, prosecutors must see these cases through court and judges must award appropriate sentences. In summarizing changes that have occurred in court programs, MacLeod (1987) highlights the appointment of Crown Attorneys designated to deal with wife abuse cases as a major positive step. These Crown Attorneys receive special training regarding victims of wife abuse. Part of their role is to interview women before cases go to court to explain court procedures and increase the women's level of comfort with the legal process. The attorneys also discuss issues with those women who want to have charges against their partners dropped. There has also been an attempt to shorten delays between the time an abuser is arrested and court proceedings begin, as well as the length of trials. MacLeod cites a Regina, Saskatchewan Prosecutors' Unit which has piloted a project to give cases of wife abuse special priority, as a way of shortening the time between the abuser's arrest and court prosecution (p. 80).

Sentencing is also a concern to battered women, shelter workers and service providers. MacLeod calls for sentences "which will protect battered women and their children, give the batterers the counselling they need, where appropriate, and clearly convey the batterer's responsibility for his actions" (p. 89).

Special attention should be given by the criminal justice system to immigrant, native, rural and disabled women who are victims of battering. In addition to the fear and uncertainty that battered women in general face when taking their problems to court, these women confront other barriers that create

special needs in the processing of their cases. For many of them, access to the system is limited by language and cultural differences, isolation from legal resources and physical difficulties. An immigrant woman, for example, may carry with her the added fear of coming from a country where police and other figures of the criminal justice system are components of an oppressive military regime or institutionalized corruption. The need for services such as specialized victim advocacy and language translation, as well as education for criminal justice agents and networking between agencies, must be met by the justice system in order to deal adequately with these cases of assault.

MacLeod (1986), in a paper prepared for a conference entitled Violence in Contemporary Society, reminds us that the criminal justice system tends to focus on the offender and not upon the woman's experiences and concerns. She argues that, "we should not throw out criminal justice solutions, but should instead work on making the justice system a helpful system, because the criminal justice system has not been traditionally helpful to victims, criminal justice initiatives must be carefully and constantly evaluated in terms of their benefits to battered women" (p. 77).

It is also important to recognize that the criminal justice system is reactive, rather than proactive in terms of solving the problem of wife assault. As Bolton and Bolton (1987) have stated, "The solution to conjugal violence will only be found when there is a change in societal values.... Laws cannot change values or behaviors; they can only provide remedies for their violation. Conjugal violence will remain a common occurrence until it becomes morally repugnant to our society" (p. 221).

Women's Opinions of Changes in the Criminal Justice System

MacLeod (1987) has found that changes in the response of the criminal justice system to wife battering have been "generally lauded by women across Canada as major victories in asserting society's abhorrence of wife battering and in promoting better protection for women" (p. 85). In surveying shelter workers for her study Battered But Not Beaten, MacLeod found that 81% who responded reported that their shelter approved of the more aggressive charge

and arrest policies that had been implemented. The majority of the remaining 19% favoured the new policies but did not think they were being used adequately by police. The workers also noted that 72% of the battered women who stayed at their shelter in 1985 and knew about the new police policies thought they were "good" policies. According to workers' estimations, only 10% of the women felt the policies were "bad". Another 18% thought they were ineffective. About 89% of the workers stated that their relations with the police had "greatly or somewhat" improved following the policy changes and, consequently, 79% felt their current relationships with the officers in their area were "good or very good" (MacLeod, 1987).

However, MacLeod's study revealed that battered women's reactions to police intervention is most positive when they perceive the criminal justice system to be concerned with prevention and protection rather than punishment. Some 64% of the shelter workers surveyed thought more women would want charges laid if they knew it would guarantee 24-hour protection for themselves and their children until the batterer was jailed or prosecuted. About 81% of the workers estimated that women would favour police-laid charges if they knew their partner would receive a court-order to get counselling or treatment. But only 24% of workers thought more women would approve of charging if they knew the abuser would be sent to jail.

The Need for Other Options for Women

Some battered women choose not to involve the police or the criminal justice system in their situation at all. As MacLeod (1987) explains, these women may see police and legal intervention as short-term solutions which have the potential to destroy their long-term hopes that the violence will end and their marriages will remain intact. MacLeod notes that "most battered women want help which will give them long-term hope." She argues that a wide range of options should be open to battered women of which criminal justice services are only a part. While the importance of reforms within the criminal justice system must not be diminished, these changes address only some aspects of wife battering and the needs of only some battered women.

PART II: THE NATURE OF POLICE INTERVENTION FOR WOMEN IN ALBERTA SHELTERS

This section of the report provides a descriptive analysis of the nature of police intervention experienced by women admitted to shelters in Alberta. Specifically, the following questions are explored. How often was police assistance requested? Did police respond? How? Were offenders charged or arrested? Did the nature of police involvement vary depending on the history of criminal charges on the part of the abuser? or with characteristics of the victim? Was police practice consistent with the directive to lay charges? Was police response in Alberta comparable to the type of response cited in other jurisdictions or research studies? Most importantly, were abused women satisfied with the response they received from police? What implications do these findings have for police policy and practice in Alberta and for the criminal justice system as a whole?

Methodology

The data upon which this review is based is derived from the Women's Shelter Information System, an automated database of Alberta Family and Social Services which collects extensive information on an ongoing basis from women resident in the province's fourteen women's shelters and one second stage housing program. The data comes from self-reports made by women and is collected on a standardized, pre-coded form by shelter staff during the intake, assessment and discharge processes of residency at a shelter (see Appendix A). The resulting analysis, therefore, is based only on the experience of battered women who eventually come to shelters.

Information pertaining to police involvement is derived from the following three questions which appear on the Women's Shelter Client Information form (Appendix A):

35. Has police intervention been previously requested?

    1 - Yes
    2 - No

36. What kind of intervention resulted?
(1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - Not Applicable)

- Police mediated dispute only
- Informed woman of assistance available to her (eg. shelter)
- Assisted woman to leave home
- Advised woman to lay assault charges
- Assault charges laid by police
- Arrested batterer
- Advised woman not to lay charges
- Woman called for police assistance but police did not respond
- Other

37. Was woman satisfied with police intervention?

1 - Yes
2 - No

These questions are based on a forced-choice design but question #36 permits more than one answer. Shelter staff are expected to answer "not applicable" for questions #36 and #37 to indicate when police intervention was not requested in question #35. Blanks signify missing information. An instruction manual available to assist shelter staff, explains the coding procedures for the form, definitions of terms, and how to use the form in more detail.

It is important to note that these questions pertain only to the most recent incident requiring police involvement and not necessarily to the incident which precipitated a woman's arrival at the shelter. Accordingly, caution must be exercised when ascribing causal links between these variables and others. The remainder of the form refers to the nature of the abusive relationship over time and not solely to one abusive incident.

The data used in this report relates to admissions of battered women only from November 1, 1985 to April 30, 1988. During that time, 5,991 battered women were admitted to shelters. This includes women who used the shelter more than once.

Police Contact Rates

Police intervention had been previously requested for 3,183 women, or 53.1% of the 5,991 battered women admitted. Police intervention could be requested by anyone including the women themselves, friends, family members, neighbors and others. Some studies in the literature report police contact rates as high or higher than this figure. A 1980 Toronto area study of 47 physically abused women who sought community assistance found that 53.2% had contacted the police for help (Meade-Ramrattan, et al., 1980, p. 164). A study of 300 women in a Florida shelter reported that 74% had called for police aid (Abel and Suh, 1984, p. 527).

However, other general population studies indicate a lower rate of calls for police assistance than that found in the shelter population. The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey indicated that victims reported domestic assaults by a spouse or ex-spouse in only 36% of the cases that came to the attention of the police. When other witnesses to the assault were included in the reporting figure, the number rose to 44% (Johnson, 1988, p. 18). Dutton (1988) calculated a spousal assault reporting rate of 14.5% in the general population by combining two major studies - Shulman (1979) and Straus and Gelles (1985), which used the Conflict Tactics Scale (p. 125).

One could speculate that reporting rates for abused women seeking shelter or other services are higher than rates for the general population because abused women who have made a decision to use these services are more likely to request police assistance as well. Perhaps police are generally more likely to be involved in incidents which precipitate flight to a shelter.

Type of Police Intervention

The type of intervention provided by police to the 3,183 abused women who requested assistance is shown in Table 1.

The most common police response was informing women of assistance available to them (42.72%), followed by helping women to leave the crisis (41.53%), advising women to lay assault charges against their spouses (39.33%),

mediating the dispute (32.5%), arresting the batterer (25.29%) and laying assault charges themselves (18.91%).

It is disconcerting to find that police actually discouraged women from laying charges in 4.77% of the cases in the sample and that they did not even respond to calls for help in 10.49% of the cases. Surprising as well is the fact that police responded in "other" undefined ways in 17.18% of the cases. But responses to this category appear in hand-written form and are not computer-coded, which precludes further analysis.

It is also disappointing to find that, despite the national and provincial directives to police to lay charges in these incidents, officers still encouraged women to lay their own charges in 39.33% of the cases studied. While it is encouraging that police are helping women to leave the violent situation and informing them of available resources, each of these actions happened in less than half of the cases. The following table examines police responses more closely.

TABLE 1

TYPES OF POLICE INTERVENTION PROVIDED TO ABUSED WOMEN WHO REQUESTED ASSISTANCE

Type of Police Intervention*	Number of Battered Women (N=3,183)	Percent
Informed Woman of Assistance	1,360	42.7
Assisted Woman to Leave Home	1,322	41.5
Advised Woman to Lay Charges	1,252	39.3
Mediated Dispute Only	1,035	32.5
Arrested Batterer	805	25.3
Assault Charges Laid by Police	602	18.9**
Other (Specify)	547	17.2
Did Not Respond to Call	334	10.5
Advised Woman Not to Lay Charges	152	4.8

*Categories are not mutually exclusive.
**This category may have been interpreted to mean assault charges only were laid by police. When police arrest, charges have also been laid.

No Response

Battered women in Alberta shelters reported that the police did not respond when called in 10.5% of the cases. This lack of response is disturbing, but the 89.5% of cases that did receive a response represent a significant improvement over previously reported police response rates. Ford (1983) reported that between 2/3 and 3/4 of all calls were screened out by dispatchers in their study of 325 battered women in Indiana during 1978 (p. 465). In a general study of police response rates, Levens and Dutton (1980) analyzed 1975 police files in Vancouver and found that police attended only 47.9% of the husband-wife dispute calls they received (p. 28). An analysis of data after the introduction of a more aggressive policy of police intervention for family disputes in 1976 indicated a rise in the response rate to 78.6%. In contrast, however, Abel and Suh (1987) reported a 95% police response rate in their study of 300 women at a Florida shelter (p. 527).

Referral

Police made referrals to other agencies and services, such as shelters and other support services, in 42.7% of the cases. This is a substantially higher referral rate than some earlier studies have reported. In her review of police practice in domestic assault cases in the United States, Loving (1980) concluded that police "use of referrals was remarkably low in domestic situations" (p. 43). Brown (1984) found that 6% of the victims studied at a battered women's shelter were referred to a helping agency by police (p. 283). However, a more recent study by Wirtz and Harrell (1987) found that police referred domestic assault victims to another agency in 67% of the cases (p. 87).

Assistance to Leave

Police assisted women to leave home in 41.53% of the Alberta cases. This figure includes women who went to a shelter, those who left to stay with friends or relatives and those who went to other locations such as a motel.

Mediation Only

The figure for "mediation only" reported in Alberta (32.5%) seems fairly high considering the number of studies (Lerman, 1984; Dutton, 1988; Loving, 1980), including the well-publicized Minneapolis domestic violence experiment (Sherman and Berk, 1984) and the London, Ontario research (Jaffe and Burris, 1985), which demonstrate that it is not a successful intervention in wife assault cases.

Advice to Woman Not to Lay Charges

It is disappointing to find that, although this represents but a small percentage, 4.77% of the women reported that they were advised by police not to lay charges. One can only speculate on the reasons behind giving this advice. Perhaps officers feared that laying charges would increase the violence, perceived a lack of evidence, or believed that victims would not appear as witnesses.

Advice to Woman to Lay Charges and Charges Laid by Police

The relatively high rate of women who were advised by police to lay charges of assault (39.3%) is puzzling when changes in policy are considered. Police charged the batterer with assault in 18.91% of the cases and arrested in 25.29%. Even when these figures are combined (since a charge is laid when an arrest is made) for a total of 44.21%, it is just slightly higher than the number of cases in which women were encouraged to lay their own charges. Perhaps this rate may be explained by Loving's observation that police are often more willing to assist a battered woman if they perceive that the woman is willing to lay charges herself (Loving, 1980, p. 41). Jaffe and Burris (1984) reported, from their review of 1979 police and court files in London,

Ontario, that police advised 62% of victims to lay their own charges. This increases the burden on women in crisis and may lead to increased risk of assault by a vengeful spouse.

The rate of police-laid charges in Alberta's shelter population is an improvement over the 1979 pre-policy charge level by police of 3% reported by Jaffe and Burris (1984). However, it is much lower in comparison to other studies reporting change rates following policy changes in charge and arrest for wife assault. McGillvray (1987) reported that during an eight month period in 1985 when a "no-drop" policy for wife abuse cases was in force in Saskatchewan, charges were laid in 50% of the cases (p. 32). Jaffe and others (1986) reported a 67.3% rate of charges laid by police in 1983 (p. 43). This figure represented a 2500% increase in police-laid charges following a 1981 change in police policy toward supporting charge and arrest in wife abuse cases (p. 37).

While Alberta's post-policy charge rate is an improvement over earlier levels, it is evident that more needs to be done in this regard. Police officers may need to be reminded of the reasons for the introduction of directives to lay charges and may require training to help them understand the seriousness of wife assault. The application of these directives should be closely monitored to ensure that women receive the protection and support they deserve.

Arrest

Alberta's arrest rate of 25.3% can be compared to both pre- and post- policy charge data regarding wife assault. Before legislative changes supporting charge and arrest were introduced in the United States and Canada, arrest rates ranged from a low of 3% (Langley and Levy, 1977, p. 219) to a high of 11% (Erez, 1980), with several studies reporting a 5-6% arrest rate, for example Sherman and Berk's study (1984) on arrest as a deterrent for domestic assault (p. 262).

Bell (1985), in his multi-year study of police dispositions, reported a 13% arrest rate in cases in which criminal complaints had been initiated. More recent studies have reported a 28% arrest rate (Abel and Suh, 1987, p. 527)

which is comparable to Alberta data from shelters. Bell also noted that although the rate of reported domestic disputes was the same across different areas, police in rural jurisdictions responded differently than police in urban or suburban areas. Rural police were more likely to take no action. He concluded that "by their inaction, police made a significant contribution to the promotion and continuation of violence in the home" (Bell, 1985).

While Alberta's 25.3% rate of arrest as reported by women in shelters, is an improvement over earlier figures, it is evident that the deterrent effects of arrest need to be communicated to all levels of police forces. The Minnesota study (Sherman and Berk, 1984) of the effects of "advise, separate, and arrest" as three distinct police responses to wife abuse concluded that arrest produced a reduced rate of repeat violence (p. 267). Similarly, Jaffe et al. (1986) reported a sign'icant reduction in violence during a 12 month period after police intervent n. Humphreys and Humphreys (1985) recommended that mandatory arrest of male abusers should be seen as both a primary and secondary prevention of abuse of women (p. 277).

Dutton's analysis of wife assault in The Domestic Assault of Women: Psychological and Criminal Justice Perspectives (1988) lends qualified support "for deterrence of future assault through the police use of arrest" and further suggests that "coupling arrest with mandatory treatment is a promising policy strategy for greater reduction of recidivism" (p. 153). Dutton also points out that since the police deal with family violence on a frequent basis, they potentially have a significant opportunity to impact on the discovery and cessation of future violence (p. 152).

Arrest and Other Variables

When the arrest rate of 25.29%, as reported by shelter residents, is correlated with other variables, some interesting variations emerge. It is important to remember, however, that these factors do not necessarily relate to the most recent instance of police intervention, so one can only examine general trends rather than positioning a cause and effect relationship between these variables and the arrest rate.

As Figure 1 illustrates, arrests were more common in cases in which abusers already had a history of criminal charges (35.01%) and in which women always used alcohol prior to the battering incident (35.48%). The high arrest rate for batterers who have been charged previously may relate to the fact that police officers were able to check the suspect for a previous record. The high rate of arrest for partners of victims who report they always use alcohol or drugs prior to the abusive situation represents a sample of only 33 women. Perhaps police are more likely to arrest abusers when victims have been drinking because they perceive the women as being less able to defend themselves or make decisions about the situation. In contrast, the arrest rate for the 428 men reported to always use alcohol or drugs prior to the abusive incident was 29.2%, only 4% higher than the average arrest rate.

In her study of factors which influence police to arrest in domestic violence situations, Loving (1980) found that officers were less likely to arrest if there was an intoxicated assailant or victim (p. 42). However, other studies (Berk et al., 1984, p. 10; Dolon et al., 1986, p. 189; Worden and Pollitz, 1984; and Berk and Loseke, 1980, cited in Dutton, 1988, p. 134) have indicated that the batterer's use of alcohol may influence police decisions in favor of arrest.

As one might expect, arrest rates were higher (31%) when a knife, sharp object or other weapon, including a gun, was used in the assault than when no weapons were present and a hand or fist was the "weapon" of choice (25%). There was little variation in arrest rates between the five different types of abuse (physical, sexual, psychological, destruction of property or pets, and abuse or threats of abuse to children). Women who required medical attention experienced a 30.7% arrest rate of their spouses, 5.5% higher than the average rate of arrest.

Although the effect of marital status on arrest rates in Alberta varied, it confirms the results of other studies such as Worden and Politz's findings, cited in Berk et al. (1984), that "police are less likely to make an arrest if the offender and victim are married" (p. 2). Figure 2 illustrates the range of variation in a comparison of marital status and arrest rates. The lowest arrest rate is 21.2% for married women, while the highest rate is 38.4% for

FIGURE 1

Comparison of Police Arrest Rates for Alberta Variables

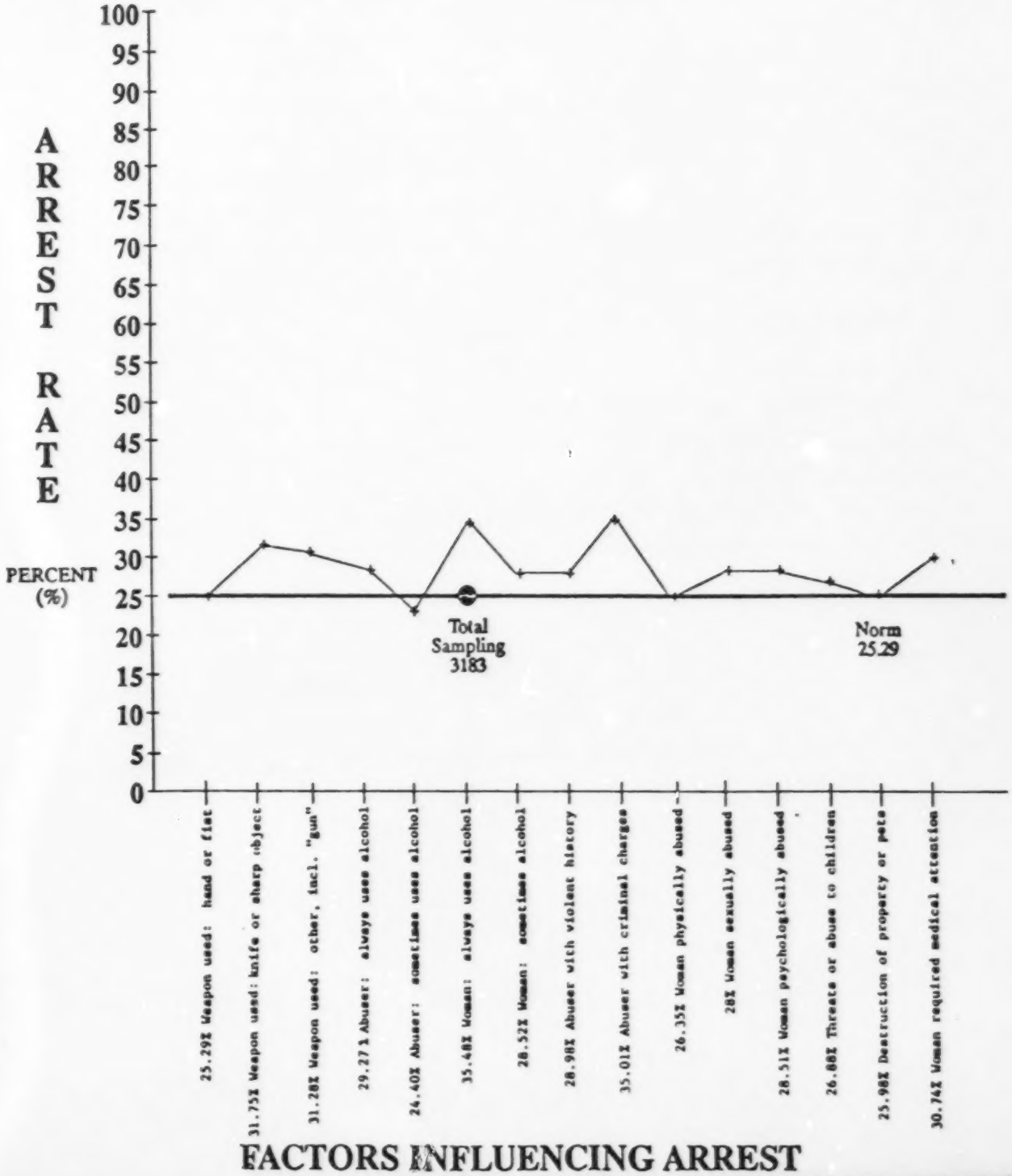
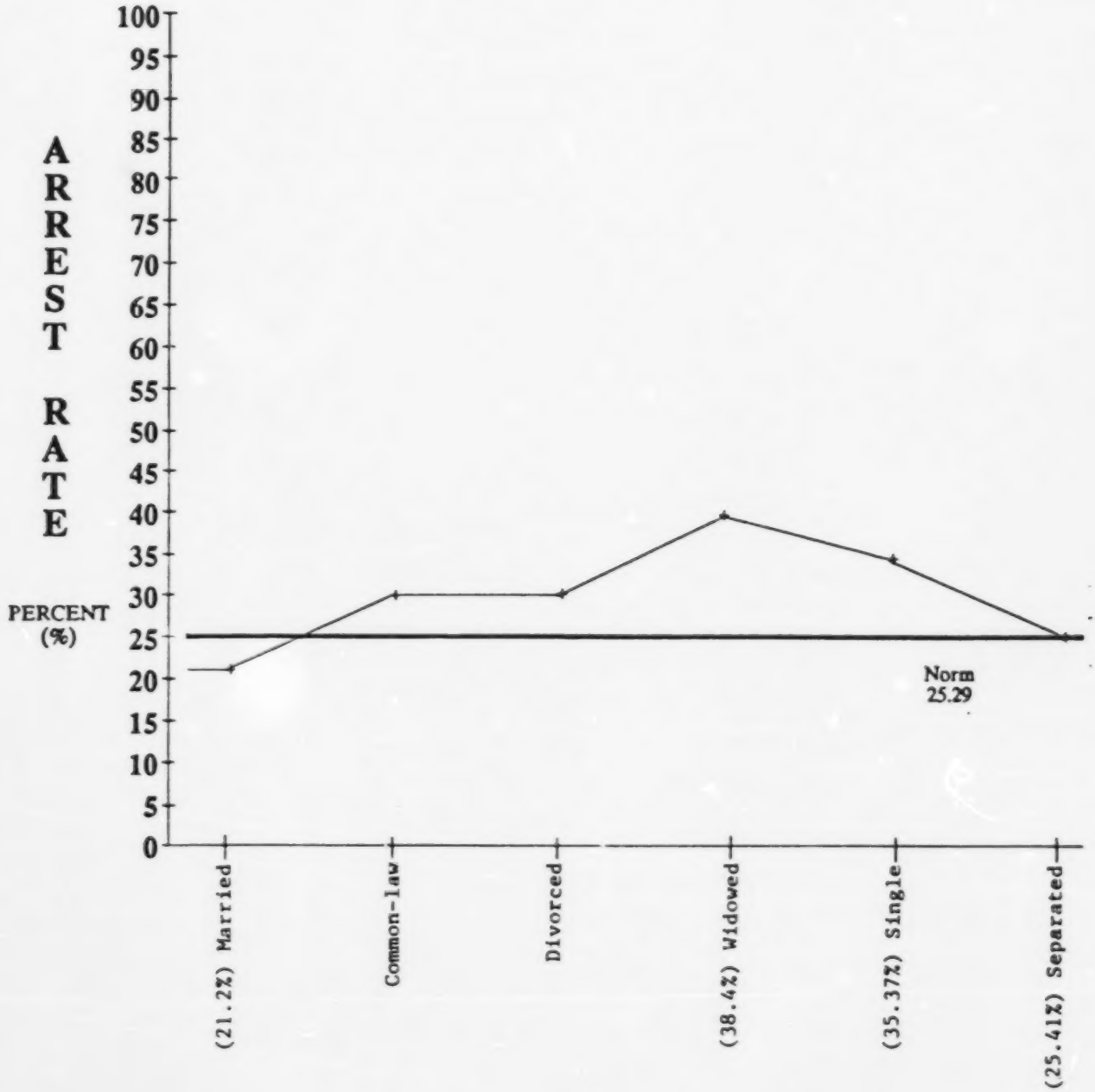


FIGURE 2

The Impact of Marital Status on Police Arrest Rates



widows (this represents only 5 of 13 women, however). The next highest arrest rate is for single women at 35.37%, while common-law and divorced women each had rates of 28%. Surprisingly, women who were separated or living apart from their partner did not have a higher arrest rate, at 25.41%, than the average rate of 25.29%. It might be expected that women trying to change their situation by a separation or living apart would experience a higher arrest rate.

Client Satisfaction With Police Response

The rate of satisfaction with the type of police intervention experienced was 63%, while 31% of women reported dissatisfaction at the response of police (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Satisfaction with Police Intervention

	Number of Women (3,183)	Percent
Did Not Answer	111	3.9
Yes	2,005	63.0
No	1,001	31.4
Not Applicable	66	2.1

Other research studies have reported a general rate of satisfaction with police intervention ranging from 30% (Roy, 1977, p. 35) and 50% (Jaffe and Burris, 1984, p. VI) to one Canadian study cited in MacLeod (1987) which found that 75% of battered women were satisfied with the police intervention they experienced (p. 85). Kennedy and Homant (1984) studied residents in Detroit shelters for battered women and reported that 27.7% found police response to be "very helpful;" 42.2% said it was "a little helpful"; 22.2% said it was "no help at all"; and 7.7% found it "made things worse" (p. 176). A study of women at Regina's Transition House between 1976 and 1982 (Smith, 1984) indicated that 14% felt involving the police had actually worsened the

violence they experienced (p. 8). In another study, Meade-Ramrattan et al. (1980) found that 32% of abused women interviewed were satisfied with police intervention, 36% were partly satisfied and 32% were dissatisfied (p. 164). Wirtz and Harrell (1987) reported that 73% of the domestic assault victims they studied rated police officers positively or as having been helpful in some way (p. 87). The Canadian Urban Victimization Study reported that 63% of wife assault victims rated the police's overall performance favourably (Johnson, 1988, p. 19).

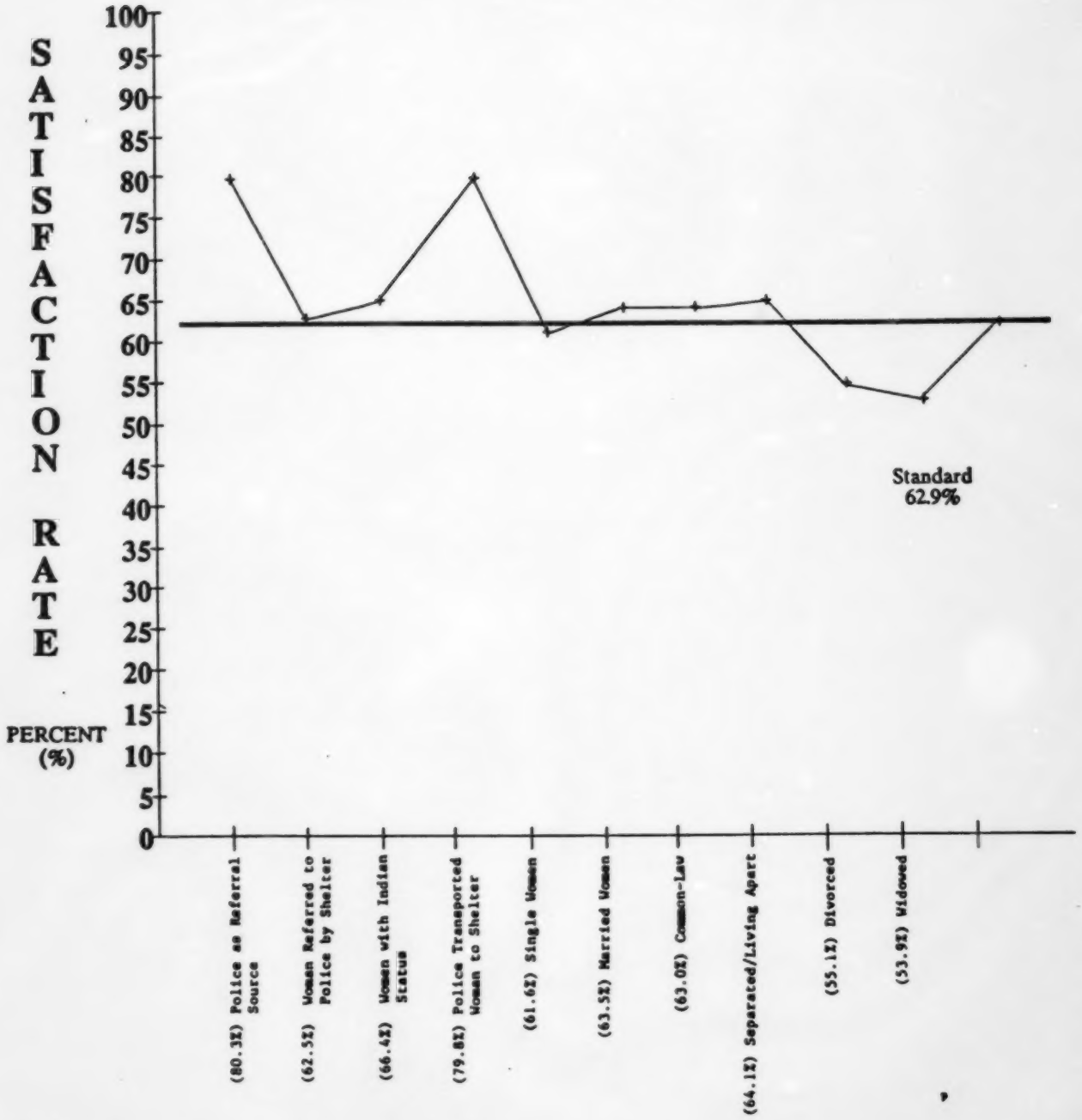
Thus, Alberta's rate of 63% is comparable to other reported police satisfaction rates. However, since this data was collected three to five years after changes in charge and arrest policies were made, a greater degree of satisfaction with police intervention might have been predicted. Perhaps expectations of police grew with the implementation of these policy changes.

When other factors which might impact on women's satisfaction with police intervention are examined, there is some variation from the 63% rate (see Figure 3). As would be expected, the highest satisfaction rate was expressed by women who listed the police as their referral source to a shelter (80.3%; 390 of 486 women referred by police) and by women who were transported to the shelter by police (79.8%; 324 women). Widows (53.9%) and divorced women (55%) expressed the least satisfaction with police intervention. The number of dissatisfied widows is quite small at seven women, and one can only speculate at the reason for divorced women's greater rate of dissatisfaction with police intervention. Perhaps this dissatisfaction is linked to the fact that divorced women's arrest rates are not much higher than the general arrest rate and they might reasonably expect more action from police when reporting abuse.

When other correlations between variables were examined, none were found to be significant. Similarly, Kennedy and Homant (1984) found no significant correlations between demographic variables, characteristics of battered women and women's perceptions of police (p. 177).

FIGURE 3

Comparison of Women's Satisfaction Rates With Police Intervention By Selected Variables



SELECTED VARIABLES INFLUENCING SATISFACTION WITH POLICE RESPONSE

VE1013M

Trend Data

An analysis of trends for 1986, 1987, and a portion of 1988 (January 1 to April 30), showed very little variation among variables. Each year showed a percentage point or two increase in such categories of positive police action as "informed women of assistance," "helped women to leave," "laid assault charges," and "arrested batterer." Unfortunately, the "mediated only" and "advised woman to lay charges" categories also showed similar increases. The category "advised woman not to lay charges" showed a moderate decrease in use, as did the category "police did not respond to call."

The trend analysis does not reveal any major changes in the type of police intervention experienced or in the women's satisfaction with police response. The three years studied appear to be fairly homogeneous in terms of the women's experience of police intervention.

PART III: ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout this report, we have traced the nature of police intervention in wife abuse cases. We have seen it change from a policy of mediation and non-arrest to the implementation of mandatory arrest policies and legislative reform. This change has been due, in large part, to the women's movement which first brought the problem of wife abuse to light, organized for the development of shelters, and advocated for women's rights to be protected from assault by their spouses. The sponsoring of class action suits against several American police departments reinforced the need for police to deal seriously with this problem and treat wife assault as a crime.

Certain key research studies have also played a pivotal role in bringing about change, notably Sherman and Berk's Minneapolis study and Jaffe's studies on the impact of mandatory arrest policies in London, Ontario.

The implementation of a directive to all RCMP officers across Canada in 1983 and of similar directives from Provincial Attorney's General signalled a new orientation in attitudes toward wife abuse and clearly stipulated that the criminal justice system had a role to play in affording protection to battered women. Wife abuse was recognized as a crime rather than a matter of private concern. However, the application of these new directives is not uniformly evident across Canada. A variety of factors influence police practice in this area.

When we examined the nature of police intervention from the perspective of women resident in Alberta's women's shelters, we found the following:

- 53% of the women requested police assistance. This is similar to rates reported by battered women seeking shelter or other services but is much higher than reporting rates for the general population.

- police responded in 89.5% of the cases

- police informed women of assistance available to them (42.72%) and/or assisted women to leave the crisis 41.53% of the time. While this is encouraging, each of these actions occurred in less than half of the cases to which police responded.

- Despite the directive to lay charges, police still encouraged women to lay their own charges in 39.33% of cases, while they laid charges themselves in only 18.91% of cases. Police arrested in only 25.3% of cases. Even when these figures are combined, the total is only slightly more than for cases in which police expected women to take action themselves. Charge rates in Alberta, while a great improvement over charge levels found in other cities in Canada prior to the introduction of mandatory arrest policies, is still lower than post-policy charge rates reported in other Canadian studies.

- Alberta's arrest rate of 25.3% is an improvement over earlier arrest rates but is comparable to rates cited in more recent studies undertaken after mandatory arrest policies were implemented. Police are more likely to arrest in situations in which the abuser has a pre-existing criminal record and when women have been using alcohol. Arrest rates are also higher when a knife, sharp object or weapon, including a gun, is present. The spouses of women who required medical attention were arrested at a slightly higher rate than the average as well. Police are more reluctant to arrest married spouses.

- Police actually advised women not to lay charges 4.77% of the time.

- Surprisingly, police used mediation as the only means of intervening in 32.5% of cases, despite the fact that research shows that mediation is <u>not</u> a successful strategy to adopt in wife assault cases. It is evident that the deterrent effects of charge and arrest need to be communicated to all levels of police forces. The application of directives to lay charges in wife assault cases needs to be closely monitored to ensure that women receive the protection and support they have a right to expect.

- Women reported satisfaction with police intervention 63% of the time. While this is comparable to the level of satisfaction reported in the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, it is less than other reported satisfaction surveys.

Although all of these variables were examined over a three-year period, the data changed very little from one year to the next. Women's experience continues to be fairly homogeneous in terms of police intervention and their satisfaction with it. This report thus gives the response of police, in the perspective of abused women in shelters, a mixed review. While police response has definitely improved since the period prior to the pro-arrest policy, the level to which they rely on battered women to lay their own charges is far too high and the level of police-laid charges too low. Arrest still happens only 25% of the time. Perhaps police believe that since many of these women go to a shelter there is no need to arrest or charge the batterer. In this way, he is never held accountable for his behavior. Mediation is used far too often, despite the fact that it has been proven to have little utility and, in fact, may place abused women in even greater danger.

Police action must be considered in the context of the attitudes of the society of which they are a part, the workings of the other components of the criminal justice system (what is likely to happen once a charge or arrest is made) and thirdly, the organizational climate within which they work. Prevalent societal attitudes which value male aggression and devalue the role of women and children in society have an impact in the way in which police officers respond to wife assault, as well as their knowledge of the dynamics of the problem. Training is seen as instrumental in altering police perceptions in this regard. It is also important to recognize that police are but one link in the criminal justice system. Low conviction rates, sentences which do not reflect the seriousness of the crime, the failure of prosecutors to always carry through cases to court, and the lack of availability of treatment as a sentencing option influence police practice and leads them to question the utility of charge and arrest policies for wife assaulters. Lastly, the degree to which the internal police administration supports, monitors, and/or rewards adherence to pro-arrest policies will also influence police

practice. One must therefore be cognizant of the environment within which police operate when examining police action in Alberta.

It is important to recognize that when police officers respond to a domestic violence call they are walking into an unpredictable environment. Although research studies have indicated that these incidents are not as lethal for police as once thought, officers are often ill-equipped to deal with them. Often they have received no information or training about wife assault which might encourage then to respond differently. By providing information and training, along with other tools to deal with situations of wife assault, some of the factors which lead to non-arrest may be eliminated and officers may arrest more often.

The factors which influence police practice in favor of arrest provide clues to improve the response of the criminal justice system in meeting the needs of battered women. Given that many of the attitudes voiced by police as factors in favor of not arresting batterers are a result of lack of information, it is imperative that both new and veteran police officers receive training in the dynamics of wife assault to help them understand the actions of abused women. This would include why women stay with their abuser, why women are reluctant to lay charges themselves, and why women are sometimes hostile when police arrive at the scene of an assault. Training would also involve officers' self-examination of their attitudes toward women. Thirdly, this training would also offer practical suggestions for what police can do to help abused women. The role of police in the larger context of the criminal justice system would also be explored, as would the positive effects of pro-arrest policies.

Other tools which may help police deal with wife assault cases are the development and use of crisis response units, victim assistance programs and volunteer follow-up services. Police may show support to battered women by providing information and referral cards about available services.

But is also imperative that the remaining actors in the criminal justice system play their part in addressing the problem. Lawyers, crown prosecutors and judges must be aware of the realities and dynamics of wife abuse and

changing societal attitudes which find it repugnant. Sentencing must reflect the seriousness of the crime. Legal advocacy services must be made available to assist battered women through the legal maze. Police must also enforce other protective measures to which victims might have recourse, such as peace bonds, restraint and custody orders.

There are those who argue, however, that it is inappropriate to place response to wife assault within the realm of the criminal justice system. Their objection is that the system is based on a punitive approach to justice, while response to wife assault requires a rehabilitative focus. The fact that some women do not want to involve the criminal justice system in their situation and that cases often do not result in conviction, also lend force to the argument against mandatory arrest in cases of wife battering. While these concerns are valid, wife assault, like the assault of any human being, is a crime, and to the extent that our legal system does not treat it as such is an unfair application of justice. Failure to arrest in individual cases of wife-battering sends a message to the abuser that it is acceptable to commit some crimes, and no one is held accountable for the violence. When this failure to arrest is systemic, it undermines victims' access to justice and contributes to the societal view that wife assault is a "private matter" and not important.

Research findings about the effects of arrest on recidivism also counter the argument against involving the criminal justice system in wife assault. Further, the use of arrest holds out the promise of treatment, whether voluntary or mandatory, through the legal system. Treatment as a sentencing option may lead, in turn, to greater recidivism. In this way police intervention may be the first step in a more creative approach to wife assault. While it is understandable that some women do not want their abusive partners to be jailed, arrest may go a longer way toward addressing the problem than doing nothing.

Since the combination of arrest and treatment holds out the promise of even lower recidivism than arrest alone, and since abused women may be more likely to support police laying charges if they knew their spouse would get treatment, specialized treatment programs should be made available.

Treatment could be mandated through sentencing or, as a New Brunswick Working Group report (1984) recommends, be offered through a diversion program as an alternative to laying charges in specific instances. The working group argues that:

> A diversion program will satisfy the requirement that an offender recognize that he has committed a criminal act and will allow greater flexibility in the justice response. In addition, it will encourage detection and provide the possibility of rehabilitation (p. 16).

From a review of the literature and analysis of statistics on police intervention in Alberta, we may conclude that the criminal justice system is not a panacea for the problem of wife assault. The system has its place and role to play, along with other kinds of preventive and protective measures. But as Linda MacLeod (1987) has urged "we must be willing to acknowledge that there may not be any clear solutions to wife battering because all battered women do not have the same needs... no single diagnosis or prescription is likely to be successful... we must respond to the needs of battered women, their children, their partners, their extended families, and their communities at different points in the changing process of battering, if we are to move decisively toward more effective crisis and follow-up programs and ultimately toward the prevention of wife battering in our society (p.5).

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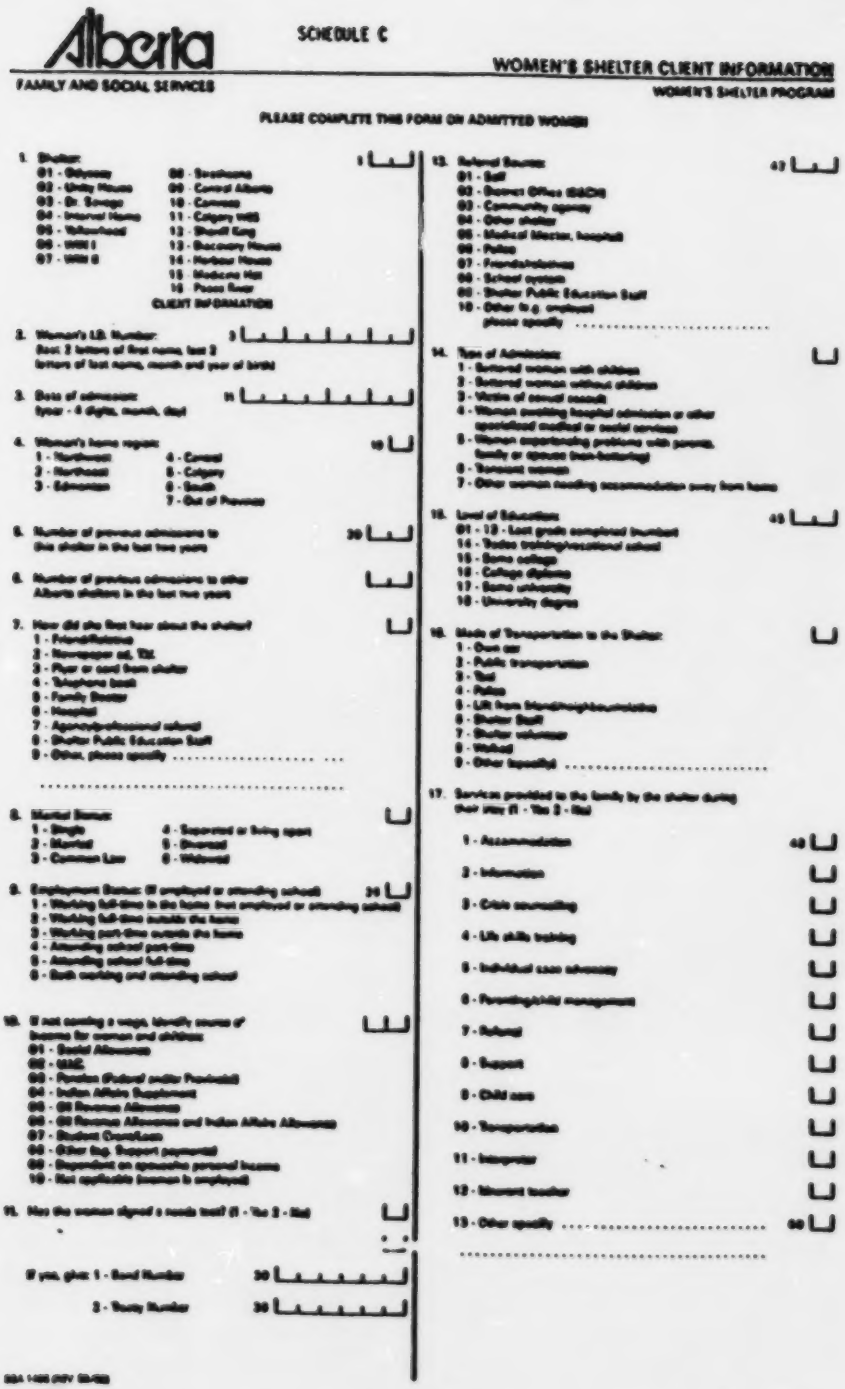
APPENDIX A



Alberta

SCHEDULE C

FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

WOMEN'S SHELTER CLIENT INFORMATION

WOMEN'S SHELTER PROGRAM

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS FORM ON ADMITTED WOMEN

1. Shelter 1
01 - Odyssey
02 - Unity House
03 - Dr. Savage
04 - Interval Home
05 - Yellowhead
06 - WIN I
07 - WIN II
08 - Sweetgrass
09 - Central Alberta
10 - Connect
11 - Calgary WIN
12 - Sheriff King
13 - Discovery House
14 - Harbour House
15 - Medicine Hat
16 - Peace River

CLIENT INFORMATION

2. Women's I.D. Number 2
Best 2 letters of first name, last 2 letters of last name, month and year of birth)

3. Date of admission 11
(year - 4 digits, month, day)

4. Women's home region 10
1 - Northwest
2 - Northeast
3 - Edmonton
4 - Central
5 - Calgary
6 - South
7 - Out of Province

5. Number of previous admissions to this shelter in the last two years 30

6. Number of previous admissions to other Alberta shelters in the last two years

7. How did she first hear about the shelter?
1 - Friend/Relative
2 - Newspaper ad, TV
3 - Flyer or card from shelter
4 - Telephone book
5 - Family Doctor
6 - Hospital
7 - Agency/professional referral
8 - Shelter Public Education Staff
9 - Other, please specify .....

8. Marital Status
1 - Single
2 - Married
3 - Common Law
4 - Separated or living apart
5 - Divorced
6 - Widowed

9. Employment Status: (If employed or attending school) 39
1 - Working full-time in the home (not employed or attending school)
2 - Working full-time outside the home
3 - Working part-time outside the home
4 - Attending school part-time
5 - Attending school full-time
6 - Both working and attending school

10. If not earning a wage, identify source of income for women and children
01 - Social Allowance
02 - UIC
03 - Pension (Federal and/or Provincial)
04 - Indian Affairs Supplement
05 - GR Revenue Allowance
06 - GR Revenue Allowance and Indian Affairs Allowance
07 - Student Grant/Loan
08 - Other (eg. Support payments)
09 - Dependent on spouse/ex-personal income
10 - Not applicable (woman is employed)

11. Has the woman signed a needs test? (1 - Yes 2 - No)

If yes, give 1 - Band Number 36
2 - Treaty Number 36

12. Referral Source 42
01 - Self
02 - Nearest Office (DACH)
03 - Community agency
04 - Other shelter
05 - Medical Doctor, hospital
06 - Police
07 - Friends/relatives
08 - School system
09 - Shelter Public Education Staff
10 - Other (e.g. employer) please specify .....

14. Type of Admission
1 - Battered women with children
2 - Battered women without children
3 - Victim of sexual assault
4 - Woman awaiting hospital admission or other specialized medical or social services
5 - Woman experiencing problems with parents, family or spouse (non-battering)
6 - Transient woman
7 - Other woman needing accommodation away from home

15. Level of Education 45
01 - 12 - Last grade completed (number)
14 - Trades training/vocational school
15 - Some college
16 - College diploma
17 - Some university
18 - University degree

16. Mode of Transportation to the Shelter
1 - Own car
2 - Public transportation
3 - Taxi
4 - Police
5 - Lift from friend/neighbour/relative
6 - Shelter Staff
7 - Shelter volunteer
8 - Walked
9 - Other (specify) .....

17. Services provided to the family by the shelter during their stay (1 - Yes 2 - No)

1 - Accommodation 48
2 - Information
3 - Crisis counselling
4 - Life skills training
5 - Individual case advocacy
6 - Parenting/child management
7 - Referral
8 - Support
9 - Child care
10 - Transportation
11 - Interpreter
12 - Itinerant teacher
13 - Other specify 60
.....

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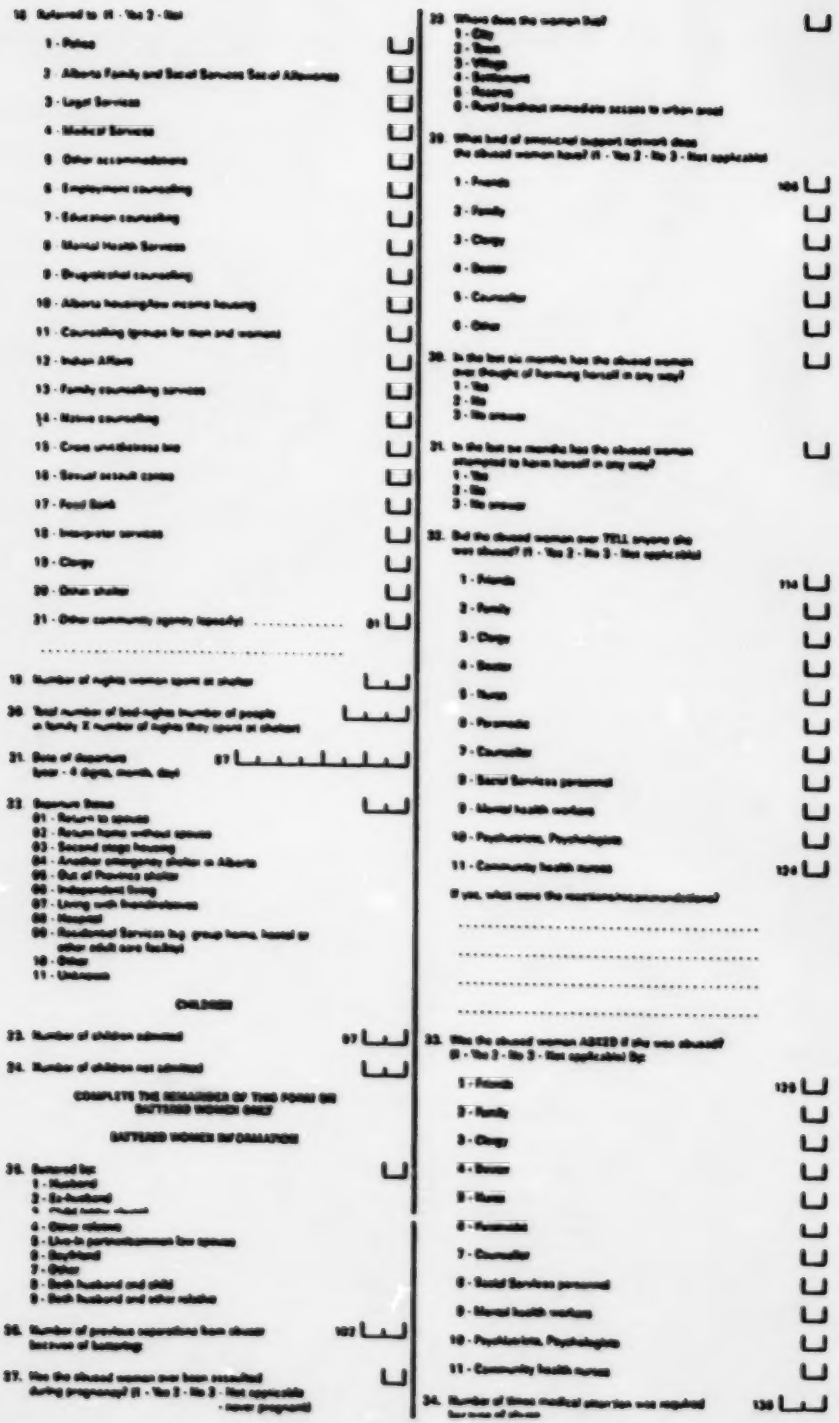

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POLICE INTERVENTION

35. Has police intervention been previously required? 138
1 - Yes
2 - No

36. What kind of intervention? (1 - Yes 2 - No 3 - Not applicable)

1 - Police mediated dispute only
2 - Informed woman of assistance available to her (eg. shelter)
3 - Assisted woman to leave home
4 - Advised woman to lay assault charges
5 - Assault charges laid by police
6 - Arrested batterer
7 - Advised woman not to lay charges
8 - Woman called for police assistance but police did not respond
9 - Other (specify) .....
.....

37. Was the woman satisfied with police intervention?
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Not applicable

38. What other services were contacted for assistance prior to admission? (1 - Yes 2 - No)

1 - Marriage counselling 149
2 - Pastoral counselling
3 - Drug and alcohol treatment services
4 - Individual counselling for women
5 - Individual counselling for batterer
6 - Group counselling for women
7 - Anger control group for batterers
8 - Support groups A.A. or Al Anon
9 - Legal services (Legal Aid, Lawyer, Family Court)
10 - Other (specify) .....
.....

BATTERING SITUATION

39. Number of years abuse has been present in the relationship 159
If less than one year, indicate the number of months

40. Number of years the relationship has been going on
If less than one year, indicate the number of months

41. Type of abuse experienced by woman (1 - Yes 2 - No)

1 - Physical abuse
2 - Sexual abuse
3 - Psychological abuse
4 - Abuse or threats of abuse to children
5 - Destruction of property or pets

42. Frequency of abuse by type:

1 - Daily — Physical
2 - Weekly
3 - Every two weeks — Sexual
4 - Monthly
5 - Only happened once — Psychological
6 - Unable
of children
Destruction of property or pets 170

43. What objects/weapons were used in the past? (1 - Yes 2 - No)

1 - Fist or hand
2 - Knife or sharp object
3 - Bullet/gun
4 - Club
5 - Other weapon

44. Use of alcohol or drugs prior to the abuse
1 - Abuser always drinks or uses drugs 183
2 - Abuser sometimes drinks or uses drugs
3 - Abuser never drinks or uses drugs

4 - Woman always drinks or uses drugs
5 - Woman sometimes drinks or uses drugs
6 - Woman never drinks or uses drugs

45. What incident does the woman feel generally triggers the abuse (1 - Yes 2 - No)
1 - Perceived jealousy
2 - Woman fails to meet husbands expectations of a good wife, Eg. supper late, whores around unkempt
3 - Financial problems or money disputes
4 - Job or business pressures
5 - Extended family pressures
6 - Disputes over care and needs of children
7 - Woman views herself as provoking abuse
8 - Unknown
9 - Other

46. Did the woman witness violence between her parents?
1 - Yes
2 - No

47. Was the woman abused as a child? 194
1 - Yes
2 - No

48. Type of abuse and by whom?

1 - By mother figure	Physical	
2 - By father figure		
3 - By both	Sexual	
4 - By other relative		
5 - Other	Psychological	
6 - Unknown		
7 - Not abused	Threats of abuse	
	Destruction of property or pets	

BATTERER INFORMATION

49. Age of batterer (in years) 200

50. Level of education of batterer:
01 - 13 - Last grade completed
14 - Trades training/Vocational School
15 - Some college
16 - College diploma
17 - Some university
18 - University degree
19 - Unknown

51. Employment status of batterer:
1 - Employed full-time
2 - Employed part-time
3 - Unemployed
4 - Attending school part-time
5 - Attending school full-time
6 - Both working and attending school

52. Did the batterer witness violence between his parents?
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Unknown

53. Was the batterer abused as a child? 206
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Unknown

54. Type of abuse and by whom?

1 - By mother figure	Physical	
2 - By father figure		
3 - By both	Sexual	
4 - By other relative		
5 - Unknown	Psychological	
	Destruction of property or pets	

55. Does the batterer have a history of violence toward non-family members?
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Not known

56. Has the batterer ever had criminal charges related to violence? 213
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Not known
If yes, please specify: .....
.....

.....

Alberta
FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

ADMITTED CHILD CODING DOCUMENT
WOMEN'S SHELTER PROGRAM

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS INFORMATION ON ALL CHILDREN ADMITTED TO YOUR SHELTER

1. Woman's I.D. number (refer to page 1, no. 3) 1

2. Sex of children admitted (starting with the youngest, left to right) 0 = boy, 0 = girl 9

3. Age of children admitted (years) 17

If less than 1 year, indicate number of months 33

4. Are the admitted children the woman's own by birth, by adoption, or by legal custody? (1 - Yes 2 - No) 41

5. Primary child welfare status at time of admission 49
1 - Family Support
2 - Probation
3 - Supervision Order
4 - Custody Agreement
5 - Temporary Guardianship
6 - Permanent Guardianship
7 - No Child Welfare Status

6. Has there been Child Welfare status in the last two years? 57
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Not known

7. Have the children been abused? 65
1 - No
2 - By mother figure
3 - By father figure
4 - By both
5 - By other relative
6 - Other
7 - Not known

Physically 65
Sexually 73
Psychologically 81
Threats of abuse 89

8. Are the children receiving non-residential support services? (eg. community support worker, counselling, youth worker, Big Brother, Life Skills Program) 97
1 - Yes
2 - No
3 - Not known

9. Children's current school status at time of admission 105
1 - Day Care or not of school age
2 - Kindergarten
3 - Regular school (Public/Separate school system)
4 - Special Education (remedial, behavioural check)
5 - Other (eg. private school)
6 - School for the handicapped
7 - Not known

10. Children referred to 113
1 - No referral
2 - Child Welfare 121
3 - Apprehension by Child Welfare
4 - Assessment Program 129
5 - Life skills support program
6 - Psychological Counselling
7 - Alternative residential care (friends, relatives)
8 - Drug/Alcohol Counselling
9 - Other

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Alberta
FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

NON-ADMITTED CHILD CODING DOCUMENT
WOMEN'S SHELTER PROGRAM

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS INFORMATION ON ALL CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS WHO ARE NOT ADMITTED TO THE SHELTER WITH THEIR MOTHER

1. Woman's I.D. number — 1

2. Sex of children not admitted starting with the youngest, left to right (0 = boy, 1 = girl) — 9

3. Age of children not admitted (years) — 17

   If less than 1 year, indicate number of months — 33

4. Primary child welfare status at time of mother's admission — 41
   1 - Family Support
   2 - Probation
   3 - Supervision Order
   4 - Custody Agreement
   5 - Temporary Guardianship
   6 - Permanent Guardianship
   7 - No Child Welfare Status

5. Has there been Child Welfare status in the last two years? — 49
   1 - Yes
   2 - No
   3 - Not Known

6. Child's current placement — 57
   1 - At home unsupervised
   2 - At home, in partner's care
   3 - With an extended family member
   4 - With friends/family
   5 - Residential placement (eg. foster home, receiving home, group home)
   6 - Residential Treatment Centre
   7 - Living independently
   8 - Other
   9 - Unknown

7. How the children been abused? — Physically 65; Sexually 73; Psychologically 81; Threats of abuse 89
   1 - No
   2 - By mother figure
   3 - By father figure
   4 - By both
   5 - By other relative
   6 - Other
   7 - Not known

8. Are the children receiving non-residential support services? (eg. community support worker, counselling, youth worker, Big Brother, Life Skills Program) — 97
   1 - Yes
   2 - No
   3 - Not known

9. Children's current school status at time of admission — 105
   1 - Day Care or not of school age
   2 - Kindergarten
   3 - Regular school (Public/Separate school system)
   4 - Special Education (remedial, behavioural disab)
   5 - Other (eg. private school)
   6 - School for the handicapped
   7 - Not known

10. Children referred to — 113
   1 - No referral
   2 - Child Welfare
   3 - Apprehension by Child Welfare
   4 - Assessment Program
   5 - Community Support programs
   6 - Professional Counselling
   7 - Alternative residential care (friends, relatives)
   8 - Drug/alcohol Counselling
   9 - Other

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